5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

to the young man's lodge, knows that a marriage is to take place; and the girl is watched by idle persons as she passes to and fro, so that the task is quite a trying one for people as shy and bashful as Indians are. When the time for the marriage has come,—in other words, when the girl's parents are ready,—the girl, her mother assisting her, packs the new lodge and her own things on the horses, and moves out into the middle of the circle—about which all the lodges of the tribe are arranged—and there the new lodge is unpacked and set up. In front of the lodge are tied, let us say, fifteen horses, the girl's dowry given by her father. Very likely, too, the father has sent over to the young man his own war clothing and arms, a lance, a fine shield, a bow and arrows in otter-skin case, his war bonnet, war shirt, and war leggings ornamented with scalps,—his complete equipment. This is set up on a tripod in front of the lodge. The gift of these things is an evidence of the great respect felt by the girl's father for his son-in-law. As soon as the young man has seen the preparations being made for setting up the girl's lodge in the centre of the circle, he sends over to his father-in-law's lodge just twice the number of horses that the girl brought with her,—in this supposed case, thirty.

As soon as this lodge is set up, and the girl's mother has taken her departure and gone back to her own lodge, the young man, who, until he saw these preparations, had no knowledge of when the marriage was to take place, leaves his father's lodge, and, going over to the newly erected one, enters and takes his place at the back of it. Probably during the day he will order his wife to take down the lodge, and either move away from the camp, or at least move into the circle of lodges; for he will not want to remain with his young wife in the most conspicuous place in the camp. Often, on the same day, he will send for six or eight of his friends, and, after feasting them, will announce his intention

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
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585 of going to war, and will start off the same night. If he does so, and is successful, returning with horses or scalps, or both, he at once, on arrival at the camp, proceeds to his father-in-law's lodge and leaves there everything he has brought back, returning to his own lodge on foot, as poor as he left it.

584 We have supposed the proposal in this case to come from the father of the girl, but if a boy desires a particular girl for his wife, the proposal will come from his father; otherwise matters are managed in the same way.

584 This ceremony of moving into the middle of the circle
184 was only performed in the case of important people. The
556 custom was observed in what might be called a fashionable wedding among the Blackfeet. Poorer, less important people married more quietly. If the girl had reached marriageable age without having been asked for as a wife, she might tell her mother that she would like to marry a certain young man, that he was a man she could love and respect. The mother communicates this to the father of the girl, who invites the young man to the lodge to a feast, and proposes the match. The young man returns no answer at the time, but, going back to his father's lodge, tells him of the offer, and expresses his feelings about it. If he is inclined to accept, the relations are summoned, and the matter talked
583 over. A favorable answer being returned, a certain number
585 of horses — what the young man or his father, or both
184 together, can spare — are sent over to the girl's father.
556 They send as many as they can, for the more they send, the more they are thought of and looked up to. The girl, unless her parents are very poor, has her outfit, a saddle horse and pack horse with saddle and pack saddle, parfleches, etc. If the people are very poor, she may have only a riding horse. Her relations get together, and do all in their power to give her a good fitting out, and the father, if he can possibly do so, is sure to pay them back what they have given.

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

If he cannot do so, the things are still presented; for, in the case of a marriage, the relations on both sides are anxious to do all that they can to give the young people a good start in life. When all is ready, the girl goes to the lodge where her husband lives, and goes in. If this lodge is too crowded to receive the couple, the young man will make arrangements for space in the lodge of a brother, cousin, or uncle, where there is more room. These are all his close relations, and he is welcome in any of their lodges, and has rights there.

Sometimes, if two young people are fond of each other, and there is no prospect of their being married, they may take riding horses and a pack horse, and elope at night, going to some other camp for a while. This makes the girl's father angry, for he feels that he has been defrauded of his payments. The young man knows that his father-in-law bears him a grudge, and if he afterwards goes to war and is successful, returning with six or seven horses, he will send them all to the camp where his father-in-law lives, to be tied in front of his lodge. This at once heals the breach, and the couple may return. Even if he has not been successful in war and brought horses, which of course he does not always accomplish, he from time to time sends the old man a present, the best he can. Notwithstanding these efforts at conciliation, the parents feel very bitterly against him. The girl has been stolen. The union is no marriage at all. The old people are ashamed and disgraced for their daughter. Until the father has been pacified by satisfactory payments, there is no marriage. Moreover, unless the young man had made a payment, or at least had endeavored to do so, he would be little thought of among his fellows, and looked down on as a poor creature without any sense of honor.

The Blackfeet take as many wives as they wish; but these ceremonies are only carried out in the case of the first wife, the "sits-beside-him" woman. In the case of subse-

595 quent marriages, if the man had proved a good, kind husband
585 to his first wife, other men, who thought a good deal of their daughters, might propose to give them to him, so that they would be well treated. The man sent over the horses to the new father-in-law's lodge, and the girl returned to his, bringing her things with her. Or if the man saw a girl he liked, he would propose for her to her father.

834 Among the Blackfeet, there was apparently no form of
[584] courtship, such as prevails among our southern Indians.
Young men seldom spoke to young girls who were not rela-
[171] tions, and the girls were carefully guarded. They never went out of the lodge after dark, and never went out during the day, except with the mother or some other old woman.
584 The girl, therefore, had very little choice in the selection of
[593] a husband. If a girl was told she must marry a certain man, she had to obey. She might cry, but her father's will was law, and she might be beaten or even killed by him, if she
[762] did not do as she was ordered. As a consequence of this severity, suicide was quite common among the Blackfoot girls. A girl ordered to marry a man whom she did not like would often watch her chance, and go out in the brush and hang herself. The girl who could not marry the man she wanted to was likely to do the same thing.

593 The man had absolute power over his wife. Her life was in his hands, and if he had made a payment for her, he could do with her about as he pleased. On the whole, however, women who behaved themselves were well treated and received a good deal of consideration. Those who were light-headed, or foolish, or obstinate and stubborn were
[684] sometimes badly beaten. Those who were unfaithful to their husbands usually had their noses or ears, or both, cut off for the first offence, and were killed either by the husband or some relation, or by the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* for the second.
[759] Many of the doctors of the highest reputation in the tribe were women.

[ca. 1850] CAMP LIFE

to Bear Chief when she was no more than seven. She married him when she was about seventeen. Some girls married before the age of twelve, but many reached their middle teens before they took this serious step. Few young men married before the age of twenty-one. 584 582

It was considered a family disgrace for an unmarried girl to become pregnant. The girl alone was held responsible for her actions. It was something of a disgrace to the families of both boy and girl if they eloped. The socially approved marriage was an important family function. It was arranged by a close friend or a relative of the boy with the girl's father or elder brother. Marriage was simply solemnized by an exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom. The first gifts could be offered by either the bride's or the groom's folks. Horses always were the most prized gift. One or more horses were invariably given, along with robes or blankets and household goods of lesser value. Relatives commonly chipped in to make the marriage gifts as imposing as possible. It was expected that the gifts returned by the spouse's family should be more lavish than those they had received. The bride went to live with her husband in a separate lodge or that of his family. 848 583 584 585 431

My elderly informants were very careful to remind me that white men who claimed the Blackfeet used to purchase their wives were misinformed. They stressed the importance of the exchange of gifts in the old-time Blackfoot marriage ceremony. [583]

After marriage it was improper for the husband to speak directly to his mother-in-law. But his ties with the male members of his wife's family generally became very strong. He commonly gave horses to his elder brother-in-law after his return from a successful horse raid. He sometimes gave him choice buffalo meat after a hunt. 602 [606] [607]

Polygamy was common among the Blackfeet because it was a practical means of caring for the excess of women created by heavy war losses. Women outnumbered men by two or three to one. Possession of several wives was one of the distinguishing marks of the successful man. A few of the leading chiefs had ten 595 [182] [556]

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

The tendency for the head chieftaincy to run in families has been more marked among the Blood Indians. Since ante-1869 the tribal head chieftaincy has descended in the family of Seen-from-Afar and Red Crow to the present (1951) chief, Shot-on-Both-Sides. Weasel Tail claimed that Buffalo Back Fat, head chief of the Blood Indians in 1832, fathered another tribal head chief who bore the same name.

It is certain that the head chief rose to office through distinction gained as a prominent band chief. The basic requirements of outstanding war record and generosity, therefore, were essential to his advancement.

Blackfoot recognition of social status upon the basis of horse ownership served indirectly to limit the power of both tribal and band chiefs in intertribal relations. Older chiefs, who had amassed considerable wealth, and who no longer went to war themselves, would lose more than they could gain through continued warfare. Often they looked with favor upon peace with some neighboring tribe. But their desires were thwarted by ambitious young men who could not be deterred from horse raids against the neighboring tribes in order to gain status for themselves. Father Point (in 1847) found Piegan young men willing to listen to his exhortations to cease stealing from neighboring tribes only if he "could immediately make 'Great Men' of them" (De Smet, 1905, vol. 3, p. 954).

MARRIAGE

The institution of marriage among the Blackfoot offered men of wealth opportunities for wide selection of women for wives, while the marital opportunities of the poor were restricted. A boy of a poor family, who was not very ambitious, had little chance of marriage except to a girl of his own social class. However, the father of a girl of rather loose morals, "who chased around with one fellow after another," might tell her, "You marry that poor fellow, and settle down." There were also orphan girls in camp, some of whom were flighty in their affections, available to marry poor boys. On the whole marriages tended to be contracted between persons of nearly equal status. A poor young man who had been successful in amassing a herd of 8 or 10 horses might be recognized as a young man with a future and might marry into a family of higher status. On the other hand, a wealthy man was besieged with offers of the daughters of ambitious parents of lower status.

Informants resented any implication of bride purchase in the Blackfoot marriage ceremony, insisting there was an exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom. This exchange of gifts has been mentioned in accounts of Blackfoot marriage by Bradley

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

583 585 431 585 431 231 (1923, pp. 272–273) and Grinnell (1892, pp. 211–216). The initial proposal could be made by parents of either the young man or woman. In either case it was a matter of pride for the family receiving the first gifts to return gifts of greater value than those received. Horses were virtually always among the valuable gifts exchanged. Bradley (1923, p. 272) wrote that "two or three horses or their equivalent in other goods constitute the customary offering in cases of intended marriage." Green Grass Bull recalled one marriage in which the groom's folks received over 40 horses from the bride's relatives. Yet he said that he gave his wife's father only one horse when he married, although later, when he returned from horse raids, he presented horses to her father and her two brothers. Three Calf recalled a rare instance of a father's offer of his daughter to a young man in return for a certain horse that man owned which he coveted.[80]

POLYGAMY

162 In buffalo days the number of Blackfoot women far exceeded that of men due primarily to heavy male war losses. (See p. 212.) At the same time many hands were needed by successful hunters to prepare their robes and skins for the fur trade and to manage their households on the move and in camp. It was usual for wealthy men to have several wives. Men of the middle class, in many instances, were polygamous. Poor men generally were monogamous. There were notable exceptions to this rule. One Piegan was known to have possessed three wives and but one horse. He and his family had a very difficult time moving their few belongings. On the other hand, the wealthy Stingy had one wife. Many parents offered him their daughters, but he refused, saying that more than one wife meant trouble.

595 595 595 556 There seems to have been a common belief that the practice of the sororate reduced the possibilities of jealousy and friction in polygamous marriages. Double Victory Calf Robe, an aged Blood woman, told me she was a wife in a polygamous union. Her two older sisters were married to Iron Horn. One day her father told her, "My son-in-law is very good to us. You better marry him and be with your sisters." Her parents outfitted a horse and travois and she rode over to Iron Horn's lodge. He accepted her, and gave horses to her father. The exchange of gifts in this marriage of a third daughter to a son-

[171]

[80] Early references to the exchange of gifts, primarily of horses, in the marriage ceremonies of other Plains and Plateau tribes appear in the literature. Lewis and Clark noted this procedure among the Lemhi Shoshoni in 1805 (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, p. 557). Say reported gift exchanges in the Kansas marriage ceremony in 1819 (James, 1823, vol. 1, pp. 122–124); and Maximilian found them customary among the Mandan in 1834 (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, pp. 279–280).

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

657 large herds might still prefer a poor yet capable son-in-law. More often,
556 however, he tried to cement his position by marrying his daughter to the
[581] son of another rich man. Such marriages took place, for the most part, be-
[557] tween children of ten or twelve years,[88] *minipoka* or "favorites." To enhance
[582] the status of the head of the family, these children were honored with special gifts and exempted from normal duties. Even as adults, they did not participate in the ordinary way in tribal life. The men continued to validate their position by generous giving, but the gifts they offered were more often derived from inheritance and the exploitation of brothers and sons-in-law than from their own labors. The girls grew up without learning to cook, and long after marriage expected their mothers to prepare their meals and carry them to their tipis.

556 Parental desire to channel wealth permanently was, however, frequently
581 frustrated. The early training of these young and favored children made for
586 even greater marital instability than was customary for the tribe as a whole.
[184] It was usually the rich or the handsome (and the two were often identical) who were credited with many marriages. The poor, less sought after, stuck it out longer, if not through thick and thin.

581 The following is a description of the marriage of two favorites. Thirty-
184 five years later, the informant spoke of this short interlude with deepest pain. Like a hurt child he reviewed the hardships of these months of living together.

581 Yellow Wolf, my father, said to me, "Now don't fool around with anybody for
184 you are a *minipoka*, and you should have a proper marriage." A marriage was ar-
585 ranged for me and Wakes at Night, the daughter of White Buffalo Robe, Chief of the Lone-Fighters Band. She was a *minipoka* too, and only fourteen years old. She brought blankets and about fifteen pair of moccasins, enough for all the members of my family. She brought a pair for me. She also brought two broken and six unbroken horses. Yellow Wolf and his relatives put up twenty-five horses, their best ones. When this gift was sent to White Buffalo Robe, my father-in-law, Wakes at Night rode in front on a fine saddle horse. She wore a weasel-tail suit and a headdress. A wagon was loaded with blankets and goods. They were all taken over to White Buffalo Robe. White Buffalo Rib, a brother of Wakes at Night, received some of the horses. . . .

581 Wakes at Night was the second child, but like her older brother, she was also a
184 *minipoka*. Our marriage was not a happy one. She did not treat me very well. We fought constantly about where we should live. White Buffalo Robe wanted me to live at his place, because his daughter was so young and got homesick. My father did not want to let me go—and besides I wanted to stay home with him. Whenever White Buffalo Robe thought I had done something wrong, he took his daughter home. This happened several times. I would send my father for her and get her back. When I took my wife to visit her parents, her father would keep us there for a longer time

[88] A. E. Hudson, *Kazak Social Structure*, p. 35, notes a similar tendency of the rich to marry early.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

556 184 425 this was as nothing compared with a Pointed Plume's equipment. "When I was married in 1905," said he, "my father turned over his whole herd of horses (about 100) to me. A few others had been given to me previously as gifts. My father told me that if I took care of the cattle I would get my share, and in 1916, he gave me twenty-five head . . . the next year my father gave me another twenty-five." It is not surprising that this favorite son was reluctant to leave his rich father and a secure and indulgent home for a few dollars in wages.

556 184 [454] All in all, it was still the owners of the large herds who benefited most from the growing cash income. They plowed back a considerable portion of it into better homes, better barns, better furnishings and better fences, as the Government urged them to do. Yet a goodly amount of cash was still available to them. This the inspector reported was "squandered in [432] riotous living." Schooled in the old Blackfoot tradition of "generosity," [181] these Indians felt that added prestige could only accrue from conspicuous spending. The same group that had made fine payments for pipes, bundles, and memberships with their surplus horses, were now able to stage bigger and better feasts and give away valuable goods, such as cloth, blankets, shawls, in quantities unknown for many years.

431 556 184 [585] Gifts flowed freely, but the circle within which they flowed remained, as before, narrow and selected. The rich gave to the rich, to their close relatives, or to those to whom they were under obligation for some past favor. For example: Yellow Wolf chose his son's best friend, the *minipoka*, Buffalo Horn, to be the husband of his brother's daughter. Pointed Plume said, "At the time of the marriage, I gave Buffalo Horn his weasel tail suit and a bonnet for a present." And then he added, "Later Buffalo Horn gave me a similar outfit." To the goodly gift of ten horses contributed to the bride price by his brother, Yellow Wolf added another five. All went to the rich father of Buffalo Horn. When Pointed Plume married the favorite daughter of White Buffalo Robe, Chief of the Lone-Fighter's Band, Yellow Wolf [764] gave the already wealthy leader twenty-five horses. At a funeral feast given for Round Chief by his adopted son, Big Head and his nephew, Pointed Plume, the latter gave away two horses—one to Black Bear, his maternal uncle whom his father Yellow Wolf had superseded for the chieftaincy, the other to Split Arrow, the father of Dancing Bird who was his [575] wife at this time. He said, "When Round Chief joined the Horn Society, he took me in as his partner. I was about fourteen at the time. This shows how close we were." It also shows why he participated so actively in the death feast.

431 556 585 425 Ned Sloane paid three horses as a bride price to his father-in-law, Charging Buffalo, who distributed them as follows: one horse was given to Charging Buffalo's brother-in-law who had previously made a gift of a

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

horse to the bride; one horse was given to Wooden Ears who had been Charging Buffalo's partner in the Horn Society, and who, if one can trust custom, had made an appropriate gift because of that relationship; and the finest saddle horse was handed over to John Bruce in exchange for a nice large house that Charging Buffalo wished to occupy.

The more general society give-aways made demands particularly on the rich, but these demands were rarely resented. Irregular, and usually not onerous, they enhanced the prestige of the giver. In no way did they raise the status of those who received. Requests for special objects could, it is true, only be denied with loss of face, but no Blood would hesitate to circumvent expectation by resorting to the simple device of "shaming," well known long before the reserve period.[132] One example will suffice. In 1905 Mountain Pine led a fine buckskin horse to the corral. Crow Chief admired the animal saying, "I wish I owned that horse." Mountain Pine answered, "You can have it if you face to the east and cry 'Mama, I wish I owned such a horse.'" He then handed over the horse while the bystanders laughed heartily. It is not surprising that under these circumstances, Crow-Chief refused to accept it.[133]

Relationships within the age-grade societies were still a matter of group concern, and great efforts were made by the wealthier members to be "brotherly" and back up the poor. The methods employed were frequently devious. When Ghost Moon brazenly demanded a new saddle from Moose Dung, a poor member of Middle Bear's society, the latter felt impelled to satisfy the request to save his *taka's* face, without, however, benefiting him more directly.[134]

In these years of economic expansion, old ways of spending were exaggerated. Favorites were showered with expensive gifts and raiment. A saddle costing $80-$100, silver spurs, special boots, finely beaded blankets, all might be lavished on a small and favored son. He was initiated to many ceremonial objects for which large payments were made not only in horses, but in fine goods. As the herds grew these payments became more ostentatious. The Long Time Pipe alone sold several times for 100 horses.

Nor was it enough for a prosperous Blood to have one favorite. Many had two or more. Pointed Plume said he wanted to "treat his two boys alike." Others frankly stated they wanted to show how rich they were. To all it gave great satisfaction to add to prestige by conspicuous spending.

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[132] There are many ways in which shaming could be used to emphasize wealth differences. For instance, at a formal smoke where bundles were named and prices given, "Those having a long list were cheered, while those having a short one were ridiculed." (Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles*, p. 276).

[133] Biele, Field Notes.

[134] *Ibid.*

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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For the male, we observe a break between his relatively irresponsible life as a bachelor and his responsible position as head of a household. Furthermore, to many marriage tacitly meant giving up the warpath. Thus, war activities would be limited to economically unproductive forays which beat off enemy raids on the camp. To marry implied that one had sufficient horses and in a sense jeopardized one's future, for were these animals lost through an enemy raid, the owner was less free to go again on the warpath. The responsibility for the household was too great readily to be entrusted to another. 593 592 581

For the female there was also a break between the rôle of a daughter in the household of her parents and the rôle of wife in the tipi of her husband. This dichotomy was framed by the mother-in-law tabu, which necessitated her living either as wife or daughter but never both. Leaving the warm, affectionate, accepting relationship of a daughter to her mother she entered the strange tipi of her husband. Frequently this change was made at an early age to accustom her more quickly to the transition, but the change was, nevertheless, a traumatic one followed by frequent attempts to escape. Father and elder brothers were rigorous in policing the marriage contract and adopted measures to enforce it comparable to the breaking of a colt. 581 593 [606]

As a result of this negative attitude toward marriage on the part of both partners definite rewards had to be offered. A key to this is furnished by the kinship system. The male received enhanced status. By the brothers of his wife he was called *nistamo'* while he replied to them with *nistamox'kua*. The suffix *xkua*, also found in the word *nuxku'a* ("my son") implies depressing a person a generation in the sense of calling a person "child." Moreover, all children of the wife's brothers were "grandchildren" so that they honored him as "grandparent." In practice the relationship of husband to wife's brother did not always follow this pattern, for the concept of seniority dominated the kinship regulations. A brother of the wife older than her husband actually held the rein of authority, but it was a warm relationship between the two males which more nearly paralleled that of siblings. Frequently the sister and her husband camped near an older brother, where the husband helped with the horses and hunting. In turn when the husband became self-sufficient, a wife's younger brother might move to help him in maintaining his household. Thus a man increased the number of his siblings through marriage and hence his personal security. 601 607 [554] 561 602 607

For the woman there were also prestige rewards. By entering the tipi of her husband, she, too, received nominal enhancement of status. This was achieved by depressing a generation the husband's younger siblings, who became her "sons" and "daughters." In turn their children called her "grandmother." Though she had to pay respect to her husband's elders, the wives of these older brothers, and perhaps her husband's sisters, helped her 601 607 [554] 607 585

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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607 to learn to cook, tan hides, and make moccasins. There was no hazing of the
585 new wife; rather, if very young, she was treated like a child in the attempt to make her feel at home in this new situation.

593 In addition social dicta prescribed that women be participators in the
562 cultural rewards apart from the warpath. This was mainly the case with ceremonial life. It was always necessary for a man to have a woman partner
[778] when he obtained the medicine pipe or entered the sacred societies. In these
[575] activities it was usually a wife, though a man might seek another woman to
796 take her place. These women were not ceremonially so important as a male.
593 However, one case shows where a man refused to join the Crazy Dog society,
562 and to overcome his resistance, his comrades took his wife as a member. As
[575] under this circumstance he could not refuse his wife and maintain community respect, he paid for her membership and sat beside her in all the meetings. In the Sun Dance alone a woman overshadowed her husband, but
[577] this status assured her husband of a firm marital tie. As Sun Dance vower, she personified the cultural ideal of womanhood, the woman who above all was faithful to her husband.

562 Beyond this elevation of the status of women through the necessity for
842 women partners in receiving sacred objects and in participating in general social life, there lay a mystical concept. Through women came the greatest treasures the culture offered. This meant in the family that a man might
[603] have children, for children of both sexes were avidly desired. Older people
[597] raised their grandchildren in order to have children in the tipi. It was also the practice to adopt a child should one's own child die. This pattern of cul-
562 tural rewards went even farther. In obtaining the most sacred root in the
796 Horn and mo'toki societies, the root which was the zenith of sacred objects
778 brought to the earth by the woman who brought the Sun Dance, a woman
[575] was necessary. In an esoteric ceremonial act a woman obtained for her husband the root from a man who sold it. This was a very secret and unmention-
[432] able event that separated socially the seller from the buyer until the two
[571] "made friends" at some time when neither owned the root any longer. Thus through marriage the two worlds of the male and the female were united to
581 obtain the rewards of the culture.
582

Balancing of the Lines

601 The question of lineality arises in any discussion of kinship terminology
602 in its relation to the family organization. We believe that there is only slight, if any, emphasis on the paternal line.

601 Critical in fixing lineality is the relative weight of husband versus wife's
607 brother. In the foregoing paragraphs a relative balance of the two authorities has been indicated. Ideally, it was a friendly, warm, though respectful relationship, implying a type of cooperation like that between brothers,

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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593 status was thereby elevated because of having received some sacred objects,
858 and, second, it was an oblique way of stating that one's father was wealthy,
554 hence a hard worker and a man of accomplishment. Further evidence for paternal glorification may be seen in the almost monomanic anxiety over
597 being an adopted child. Any rebuff that a son might be given was frequently
593 the stimulus for morbid preoccupation over the reality of the blood relation-
[152] ship to the person he called father. In adopting a child, parents took elaborate precautions to show even greater affection toward the adopted child than toward their own in order to prevent this child from suspecting his adoption. When a child or grown person discovered this fact, it was a traumatic experience from which recovery was slow and difficult. Further indi-
593 626 cation of the importance of the paternal rôle in the life of a male was the universal comment made when a man deviated from acceptable behavior.
[867] People said, "He did not listen to his father's words." This had direct reference to the series of moral lectures that every father was supposed to make
593 827 to his children. Another aspect was the concept of inheritance of personality characteristics from the father. This was particularly true of males who were supposed to inherit their father's courage in battle, memory for ritual, generosity, or eccentricities. Females were thought to inherit more from their mothers. On one occasion the question arose in a discussion with an informant as to why certain individuals did not listen to the moral lectures of their fathers. Our informant on this occasion stated that it was because they had inherited this particular deafness to the paternal sermons from their fathers who in turn had also not heeded the dicta of their fathers.

584 Certain prerogatives accorded the woman's family served to heighten the importance of the mother's family. Foremost among these was the privilege of the woman's parents to assume the initiative in soliciting marriage for
[581] their daughter. Indeed, it was frequent that a wealthy man picked a son-in-law who was poor but energetic with the aim of receiving his assistance in
[858] the camp. We have statements to the effect that on this account daughters were somewhat preferred to sons in that through them the circle of one's
585 followers and helpers could be more readily enlarged. Of conceivable sym-
[591] bolic importance was the fact that the woman's parents usually provided the first tipi with its furnishings for the new son-in-law, for this suggests that in
586 the remote past the son-in-law was actually living matrilocally. Furthermore, a woman usually returned to the camp of her parents or brothers with her unmarried children after the dissolution of a marriage. The husband
736 thereby lost whatever influence he may have had over the children. In the
[888] case of a woman whose husband died when she was too old for ready remarriage, her sons, by then economically self-sufficient, were expected to care for her, and they would accord her the authority due an elderly person in making important decisions.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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Blackfoot Reserve

602 brothers-in-law, and sons. One's generosity is shown by fine gifts
43 to a father-in-law and a mother-in-law, and by treating one's younger
466 brother in school to a movie. Wives buy things not only for their children but for their sisters' children. A man invites his brother-
602 in-law to dine at a Chinese restaurant. All of these cases reveal
431 segments of the intra-familial system of circulating wealth.

To estimate the amount of wealth per year passing through the family is difficult. Part of the groceries, clothing, and household expenses passes through this channel. More than half of the gifts that are made go to relatives. In terms of volume the family is probably the most important distributive mechanism on the reserve, even more important than the agency.

593 Near extinction, though not completely dead, is the institution
858 of the favoured child (*mini.puka*) which centres about the family.
431 Horses and blankets were given out lavishly in the name of the child. A wealthy father rewarded many times over the giver of a gift to his favourite child. A trifling object such as a bell might in the past be rewarded with a horse or a suit of buckskin clothing. Thus the favoured child institution was a special aspect of distribution where generosity was reciprocated by generosity without possibility of
593 comparable return. Though there are many who have been favoured
858 children in the past, only two children have that status today. The
177 schools are blamed for this because the children are taken away from their parents. The children themselves, caught in the set of values established by the school, no longer seek the favours that Indian parents give. A lad who has spent twelve years under Anglican or Roman Catholic influence finds it difficult to appreciate the gift of a Medicine Pipe and asks to be spared the honour.

585 Marriage may constitute a mechanism of distribution, if one of
431 the Blackfoot patterns is followed. Of three first marriages observed, one followed this pattern. The main feature is an exchange of presents between the two contracting families. The bride's family in a recent marriage gave eight horses which they had collected from various relatives. The groom's family, obligated to an equal return gift, could only collect six horses; accordingly a "democrat" and a wardrobe were thrown in. As far as possible those relatives who contributed are given something in return; the immediate family must go without in case of inadequate return gift, while the more distant relatives receive in proportion to their contributions. Among

the seven whose incomes we inspected no change of property through this channel occurred.

A funeral brings with it certain distributive features. First, to prevent the bereaved from hurting themselves, many people must be present at all times in the days after the death. They must be generously fed, for generosity is important at all times. Then the grave-diggers are given something for their services. After interment all property is disposed of. The terms of the will are carried out, though they are concerned with only a part of the possessions given away. A house is literally cleaned of everything in any way valuable. People take what they wish, and the personal property of the deceased may be burned, especially at the death of a wife or husband. If a woman dies, the farm implements are kept for the widower by some close relative to prevent their being given away. If a man dies, his farm implements are either willed to a relative or, in case of no will, are given away to a kinsman. When everything is gone, the nearest relatives are expected to care for the bereaved and at the suitable interval of time give them new clothing, blankets, and food with which to start life over again.

Only one of the seven whose expenditures we investigated[1] was influenced by death; the deceased was his father's sister. Our informant took care of the old lady before her death, and others helped to buy groceries. No mention was made of property being received at death, and it is probable that she had little or none to dispose of. Only occasionally is death important as a means of distribution.

Outside the family an important system of distribution is gambling. This takes four main forms: hand game, pool or "snooky," poker, and horse racing. The hand games occur most frequently, particularly where many families congregate, as at the hay camps or the mine village. It is difficult to estimate how much changes hands through the course of an evening; we have heard of individuals winning $30 in an all-night session. More often the gain or loss is $2 to $5.

Pool or "snooky," played by young men in the village pool hall, draws bets of 10 to 50 cents from the participants. Spectators may also enter the game via side bets, or novices may be lured into betting high stakes by a display of ineptness on the part of an expert who later will play in his true form to snare the sucker.

[1] Cf. Appendix B, A

A [See category 434, pp. 191-194--Analyst]

584 through an intermediary. After consent the two extended families accumulate gifts for an exchange, all relatives who are able being
585 expected to contribute. In former times this exchange occurred simultaneously with the moving of the bride to the camp of the groom's family. Now the Christian wedding service and a dance with food provided by the wealthier of the contracting families may be added before the bride moves to her new residence.

584 Today individual choice of spouse is more frequent, and the
602 extended circle of relatives plays a secondary role. Young men in school, after an acquaintance of varying duration, propose marriage; traditionally the girl is expected to open negotiations, though this does not always occur. If a girl is closely attached to her kinsmen, their consent will be sought, but often the relatives know only of the
584 accomplished fact. The immediate control of choice today, as a matter of fact, rests with the head-master or matron of the mission
[651] school. Their authority may be reinforced by the police or the agent. Inasmuch as the agent can allocate rations and the special marriage benefits of the trust fund, his sanction could carry considerable
[602] weight, but we have no cases of agency disapproval.[1] The approval of the match by at least one kinsman is of course imperative, for no young man is apt to have a residence to which he may bring his
585 bride, nor would she like to set up housekeeping alone at first. With minimum approval by the school authority and a single established relative, the marriage becomes official through a Christian service
[431] performed for a group of young couples in the church. A marriage that is unsanctioned by relatives may become acceptable later through strategically given gifts.

586 In case of an intolerable match relatives may be able to persuade the objectionable spouse to leave, or their kinsman to give him or her up. Marriage has seldom been so sacred a contract that it could not be terminated, were sufficient pressure brought to bear by relatives. Here again the agency and the council of chiefs may collab-
583 orate in maintaining or dissolving a match. Such a case in the
586 extreme is the following:

762 A respected man with wife and family eloped with a widow who was reported
626 to have seduced him. As is typical for women, she was assumed to have taken the initiative in this situation. The agent, chiefs, and interested friends beseeched the man to return to his former wife. The man paid no attention.

[1] This power over rations in the hands of the agent is a tremendous potential for coercion, and we are happy that no recent cases of its use for this end were brought to our attention. On the contrary, penniless Indians from other reserves have often received temporary help by being issued provisions from the Blackfoot larder.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

584 nally I couldn't see my homeland, which was beyond the
484 ration house. We came to a place that is called Willows-in-the-
Water. As we came into the open, there was a house with a
● 585 sod roof. We went in and they took my belongings. At one
side there was a wooden bed, an old bed of the past, carved
fancy. It was the bed of the one I was going to marry!

My blankets were all brought in. The boy had a sister. I asked her: "Have you got any toys?" She brought out a small rawhide container full with her toys. She sorted them out and she gave me some. Then she gave me the rawhide container to put my toys in.

I got very lonesome after I was there for three days. There was a lump in my throat. I wasn't thinking of my mother. I was thinking of my father, because I loved him most. A person asked me: "What is the matter with you?" I told her: "My necklaces are too tight, that is why I am crying." So she tied them looser. She knew that I was lonesome and longing for my parents. She said: "Both of you will go down, you will go to see your mother." I was anxious to go, so we went.

When we came to the top of the ridge I saw my home down in the valley. I was really happy. I didn't even greet my mother. I jumped on my father and was hugging him. I was so glad to see him. We slept there, and in the morning we started coming westward.

After two years, the mother of the one that I married went up west. . . . Her son-in-law was Crop-Eared Wolf, the head chief, and that is where she moved to. Then I had to prove
585 myself. I started cooking right then. I was nine years old when
606 she went up west and the other mother of my husband's—
his real mother's sister—she was very mean to me. I used to carry two big buckets of water. Now what kind of fingers I have for all the work I did? That is why I am not mean to my daughters-in-law, because this woman was very mean to me. She never fed me any bread. Before I went to sleep I used to steal some bread and I went to bed with it and ate it.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

a certain girl was by sending a very special present to the parents. Since the man was the boss of his family, it was up to him to decide. But you can be sure that most men consulted with their wives before deciding, and kind men consulted with their daughters also. This custom has just died out in recent years, since the time my own mother got married. 584 [431]

The special present was usually brought to the girl's parents by a friend of the young man who wanted her. If the parents accepted the gift, then the marriage was set. Sometimes this happened even though the girl didn't care at all for her suitor, or if she was already in love with someone else. In most cases, however, it didn't matter to the girls. They had been so closely watched while growing up that they didn't really have many opinions on the various eligible men. Few young men stood out by their bravery or early wealth. Parents of girls tried to get such men for their sons-in-law, since they were likely to provide well for their daughters and even for them in their old age. Parents who had several daughters hoped that their oldest one could find an ambitious husband who could afford to take the younger sisters when they became eligible. Some chiefs had over ten wives, many of whom were often sisters. I know of one woman who was only six or seven when she became the youngest wife of a head chief who had married her older sister. [431] 581 595

Some parents tried to get their daughters married at a very early age, so that they would be virtuous to their first husbands and perhaps put up a Sun Dance someday. One of my distant grandmothers who is still living was given to a young man as a bride when she was only seven. Her parents were poor, and this young man showed a lot of promise. He had just finished school. The two spent their whole lives together, had many children, and were both successful and happy. She still laughs when she tells me how her new husband's little sister gave her toys to play with, after the marriage, and how he used 582 585

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

585 to get mad at her because she would sneak bread into their bed and leave crumbs all over the inside of it at night.

178 Today a young girl would laugh if her parents told her whom she had to marry. She would probably fight her brothers if they told her how to dress and behave. The law would be after those brothers real fast if they cut off her nose as punishment for bringing the family disgrace by being loose in public. And I wonder how many young men would be able to come up with enough horses and other goods to satisfy the parents of a potential good bride. Yet these are the customs that my grandmothers knew and lived by until just a few years ago.

ON PREVENTING CHILDBIRTH

842 One thing that many young women like to find out about my grandmothers' ways is how they kept from having children; what were their natural birth control methods. Tribal history and family records show us that childbirth was not much controlled in the old days. Some people were unable to have children, including several very famous men of the past. But among all the rest of the people it was common to see eight, ten, or twelve children in every household. As you know, nature regulates childbirth by age, health, food supply, and so on. Our people were usually content with that. Keep in mind that the old life was hard and dangerous, and infant mortality often ran high. Also there was lots of land and generally lots of food for all that could manage to live.

847 824 759 I have heard about some plants and herbs that were used to prevent childbirth. Often they caused a pregnancy to be terminated, rather than keeping one from happening. The men and women who administered these things were powerful people who had a lot of knowledge to go with their herbal medicines. I don't know anybody like this that is still living.

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Mr. and Mrs. Willie Wadsworth and family during a Sunday outing with some of their children.

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584 574 *by the name of Bull Head. He had two wives. One of them was named Shaggy. They both jumped out and took me down. I must have looked funny. A woman by the name of Annie started to laugh at me. She was John Cotton's* [292] *wife. I must have looked really funny. It was in the winter and I had on my buckskin dress, and my shawl was a small fancy blanket.*

● 585 *They fed us and then we started off again, on and on. Finally I couldn't see my homeland, which was beyond the ration house. We came to* [342] *a place that is called Willows-in-the-Water. As we came into the open, there was a house with a sod roof. We went in and they took my belong-* [352] *ings. At one side there was a wooden bed, an old bed of the past, carved fancy. It was the bed of the one that I was going to marry!*

My blankets were all brought in. The boy had a sister. I asked her, "Have you got any toys?" [431] *She brought out a small rawhide container full with her toys. She sorted them out and she gave*

585 [431] *me some. Then she gave me the rawhide container to put my toys in.*

585 593 [152] *I got very lonesome after I was there for three days. There was a lump in my throat. I wasn't thinking of my mother. I was thinking of my father, because I loved him the most. A person asked me, "What is the matter with you?" I told her, "My necklaces are too tight, that is why I am crying." So she tied them looser. She knew that I was lonesome and longing for my parents. She said, "Both of you will go down, you will go to see your mother." I was anxious to go, so we went.*

When we came to the top of the ridge I saw my home down in the valley. I was really happy. I didn't even greet my mother. I jumped on my father and was hugging him. I was so glad to see him. We slept there, and in the morning we started coming westward.

593 592 602 *After two years, the mother of the one that I married went up west. . . . I proved myself, and now what kind of fingers I have for all the work I did? I started cooking right then. I was nine years old when she went up west, and the other mother of my husband, his real mother's sister, she was very mean to me. That is why I am not mean to my daughters-in-law, because this woman was very mean to me. I used to carry two big buckets of water, and she never fed me any bread. Before I went to sleep I used to steal some bread and I went to bed with it and ate it. My husband used to get mad at me because the crumbs were all over the bed. There, I told you the story plainly, just the way I know about my marriage.*

778 425 Mrs. Wadsworth and her husband took an active part in the Old Ways of our People. For several years they had the Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe. The Pipe was transferred to them while they were living on the land east of Stand Off. The ceremony was held inside of the Upside-Down-Buffalo-Head Tipi, which was given to them by old Shot-on-Both-Sides. Natosina helped with the pipe transfer. He sang the songs for them to wake us by. [P. 341-A]

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

584 583 [585] secures the services of a friend, who goes to the father of his intended, states his desire and enumerates the gifts to be made to him in the event of his consent. If the father gives favorable ear to his suit, he simply sends the girl to the young warrior's lodge, who there receives her and the marriage ceremony is over. It is usual for the parents of the girl to send with her as presents to her husband such articles as their means allow, and these often exceed in value the gifts that have been received from him. Two or three horses or their equivalent in other goods constitute [562] the customary offering in cases of intended marriage. The wishes of the girl are not consulted pending the matrimonial negotiations, but she rarely, if ever, objects.

582 607 [562] Such is the custom to which she has grown up and she is a passive instrument in her father's hands. It is to be remarked, however, that should she have a brother-in-law of mature years, it is even more important to conciliate him. To him revert all the proffered gifts and his opposition to the marriage would generally prevent its occurrence. Where there are several brothers-in-law it is the eldest only who enjoys this consideration.

Polygamy

595 Polygamy is extensively practiced among the Blackfeet and the number of wives a man may have is only limited by his ability to procure and support them. If the eldest daughter of a family is first married, it is tacitly understood that her younger sisters are bound to her husband likewise, and as fast as they arrive at the proper age they are sent to him without ceremony.

Fathers-in-Law and Mothers-in-Law

602 From the moment of marriage all direct intercourse between a husband and his wife's relatives or a wife and her husband's relatives was at an end. The husband addressed his wife's family only through her, and she observed the same rule with regard to his. Relatives by marriage sought to avoid meeting each other and would turn out of their paths for that purpose, but when an encounter was unavoidable they would hang down the head or muffle the

53: Uhlenbeck L-S (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

kanistótoχpi, ánnimatanistòt. Nitánistau: Kímmòkit, nitsiiksíkop, aχkápiòkit. Nisótamaχpokòmau. I'kskìnatsiu. Nitáiastâχkìχ'p nokóai. Nitsítanika: Kakó, anaχkyápomaχkàt. Nisótamistapaχkài. Ki ostói stámoχkataχkàiiu. Kénnyaie nitsíu nitsínoχkyokoyi.

not know the way, I came. I said to him: My uncle, just take me home, I am very much afraid. He laughed at me therefore. He told me: You came alone. Now go back the same way as you came. I said to him: Pity me, I am very much afraid, take me home. He then went with me. It was very dark. I came near my tent. He told me: Go on, run home. Then I went away home. And he then also went home. And that way was my nightmare.

How a certain man came to be married.

Nitániko Kináksàpop ki nimátanikò Ksístapakainamàχka. Sótamoχtòmaχk ki omí Nátokiòkàs, otsítopiχ'pi Sóutsiχ'pòtamisò. Nómoχtsitòto, náχkaie ponokâ'mitaua, tsítoyìnau. Tánusokaniu omá Pitséksinaitapiàke: Kitákaitòm. Tsítanistau: Kitáikipan. Itaníu: Sá, kimátaikipaniχ'pa. Tsitánistau: Taká? Itaníu: A'χkyàpsaipi. Nitánistau: A', tákaχkai annóχk. Ki áisiksìnauiskitakyatoièksistsikùsi áiistapistokyoksistsikùsi nitákotamatsitòto. Itaníu: A'. Sotámitòtàsi, kénnyaie nimátsitòto. Tsítanistau: Tsánìua? Itaníu: Mátaipuyiu. Nitsítanik: Apinákusi tákatanistau. Itaníu: A'. Sótamanistau: Tákototaki áinakàsi, tákoχtaχkàpiau. Itaníu: Kakó. Nisótamaχkài. Tsitótaki áinakàsi, ki

I am called Little-plume, and I am called also For-nothing-many-guns. I then went to Two-Medicine river, where Came-up-over-the-hill-with-the-eagle-tail-feathers stayed. I came there, there was a horse, I went to catch him. Then Snake-people-woman [the wife of the man just mentioned] said: I will get you a wife. I told her: You are fooling. She said: No, I don't fool. I asked her: Who [is it]? She said: Charging-home. I said to her: Yes, I shall go home now. And two days after New-year I shall come back here again. She said: Yes. Then it came to time, [that] I came there again. I asked her [Snake-people-woman]: What does she say? She answered: She does not say anything. [Snake-

539 584 585 ænníkˈ nómoχtàtotomaχk. Nitsitótoχsi atákuyi, ki itaníu: Mátæstaχpa, nákitapòχsi kokóai. Ki annóm ákitaupàuop. A´, nitákitaχkapiaii nitáinakàsim. Itaníu: A´. Nisótæmatskomaχk. A´utako tsitóto. Sótæmitsòk. Ki nisámo, nitákoχkèmsini, nitáutomatàpaχkai. Ki itáχsitakiu, nákoχpoksìmæχsi. Sótæmitaupi, ómaχkaistuyì tsítàupi. Kænní nepúyi tsítatoapoχkèmatàu. Natoápoyìsi, ánnimaie itstsíu. Kénni nisótæmipuχsapaiaχsaupiχ´pinan, ki kénnoχkauk, náχkoχkaiakietoχsinan. Ki annóχk nitáumatapietaχtàmiskani. Ki annóm natoiéksistsìkuyi tsítotoisàipiaii Maníua A´pssìyi. Annóm oksístcauai itáupiiau annóχk. Ki annóχk itástsinaupi ískskàumaitau, ìstuyíu. Stsíka mátåχkototaua. Ki kénnimaie nómåχketsinìki.

people-woman] told me: In the morning I will tell her again. Then [having been told by Snake-people-woman, that she ought to marry me] she said: Yes. Then I told [Snake-people-woman]: I will go and get the waggon, I will bring her home with it. She said: Go ahead. Then I went home. I got the waggon, and I came back with it. When I got back in the evening, [Charging-home] said: I don't like to go [literally: that I shall go] to your home. And now we shall stay here. [I said:] Yes, I shall bring my waggon home. She said: Yes. Then I went home. In the evening I got there. Then I slept. And after a while I got back to be married [literally: for my going to be married]. And she consented, that I should remain with her together. Then I stayed there, I stayed there the whole winter. And in summer I got married by the priest. It was in the church. And then we lived together all-right till now, and it is now [just the same], that there is nothing to part us yet. And now I began to work on the ditch. And [last] Sunday I took Mary and White-whiskers [my step-children] out of school [and brought them] here. They are staying now here with their mother. And to-day, [this] Saturday, there is awfully much rain, it is cold. Some [of the people] have got no wood [to make a fire]. And this is the end of my story.

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